197 kampongs. This is particularly true of the
195 Mohammedan kampongs, (which in general seem to keep the old ways better than the Christians). I will get the names of the kampongs where this speech is still used. Gaspersz did say that in Tulehu, it is used. There are a lot of people
[191] here who use Dutch most of the time, and a few have mastered English (for example, Rehatta).

463 It is a mystery to me how these folks live.
291 They say they are "employees," (evidently
241 largely government employees, in the schools,
262 etc.), fishermen, gardeners, makers of local sopi (distilled palm wine), cocoanut growers, and raisers of a few animals (there are no buffaloes here, but there are a few cattle, some pigs, and many fowls). There is practically no rice. The main food crop seems to be sago, which comes mostly from Ceram. In the towns people eat rice which is imported as the staple. There are some sago groves here too, and I have seen plenty along the roads. I've seen sago cakes too. And there is a fair amount of cloves. Formerly there was a fair amount of nutmeg (mace) [an aromatic spice consisting of the dried outer covering of the nutmeg], but this has nearly disappeared now. One Dutch informant told me that most of the port work is done by the Butonese. Evidently, the Ambonese dislike handwork.
464 They seem to have to go to school for a long
647 time because there are few jobs. Then a lot of
177 them seek army or other types of parasitic jobs
● 167 with the Dutch as there are few other oppor-
[197] tunities here. Many of them simply have to get out. They also go in for mission work. Rehatta, who has been in the civil service in Ceram and New Guinea for a long time, says that the Ambonese officials and missionaries and teachers have singlehandedly "civilized" (and he says that there were very few Dutch involved although they

464 take the credit for it) Ceram and New Guinea.
647 He says that thousands of Ambonese have been
177 killed or have died in New Guinea. Thus it
167 would appear that they are the agents of secondary acculturation, learning from the Dutch first and then going out into difficult areas to pass on what they have learned to, for example, the Papuans. They themselves must seek such work as there is so little opportunity in the homeland.

562 I note that the women here, at least the
291 Christian ones, seem to be free and move about
177 with greater assurance everywhere than I have noted elsewhere in Indonesia. This is the only
[485] hotel I have seen so far in Indonesia which has a chambermaid. She dresses in the notable short European, little-girl dress and speaks Dutch. These dresses are amazing. Maybe it is because of the clothing shortage, but big women wear them all over. This is true in Java, Celebes, here, and everywhere. They hardly reach to the knees, and are very tight. They look like the reverse of little girls in their mothers' dresses.

361 Most of the kampongs here are along the coast.
342 Houses are often plastered and are not bad in appearance. Poorer houses are made of gaba-gaba [dry stems of leaves uses as stakes for walls and as roof covering] and thatch.

291 The dress here is either European and shabby,
292 or native. For the women, the latter means a long kebaya, found elsewhere as in Minangkabau and I understand in some Java areas, colored or white. The adat dress is of black sateen, both for the sarong and long sleeved kebaya. Some women wear the regular length kebaya. The men, in ceremonious dress, wear buttoned up but collarless white jackets like those of bellboys. Over this they wear a short black open coat. These costumes are most unusual. I will get the details later.

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000 structures they needed.

166 591 64 428 Except for the shifting caused by marriage, etc., which broke up the original soa, there has been little movement except for the moving out of the parental home. According to the rule which is definitely patrilocal, this shift takes place. They do have ambil anak. What happens is that the sons, in succession, receive new houses as they marry. Finally one of the sons inherits the paternal house. Daughters follow their husbands. There are no rented houses, and therefore houses descend from one generation to the next.

● 167 463 The assistant says that about five hundred people have left the village during the last fifty years. Sixty per cent of them went to Singapore to become seamen. In that port there was a kind of chief of Tulehu men and those who had recently left the kampong were able to stay in his house for nothing until they found a job. He got in touch with the ship companies and acted as a hiring agent. When they got jobs they paid board and room. The first one was a hadji, and he was succeeded by a Said. The Radja does not know who is the chief there now, but he is sure that there must be one. The house used to be in Klapper Street. Many of those who work on ships go to and stay in the United States or England. They often marry girls from Malaya. Another ten per cent have gone to Dobo and there they became pearl divers. They often return. Another ten per cent went to New Guinea where many of them became auto drivers. A few go to Java as soldiers, but they don't care very much for this type of work. Also, before 1930 there were not many who had gone to school and were therefore not eligible for army duty. Incidentally, the Radja says that they always prefer to work as

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167 seamen on British ships as they are paid off more regularly. And many of them skip ship. 463 Most of those who leave the kampong are bachelors or are divorced. Many of them marry abroad and never return.

167 Out of the five hundred who have left in the last fifty years the assistant says that about one hundred fifty have returned. The important thing seems to be that few of them do return. Most of them, says the Radja, stay away a long time before they return. Ten to twenty years, for example, was the figure given. The hadji who speaks American English was away for twenty years.

The main places where the people who stay away a long time have remained seem to be the United States and England. The people who went to Dobo and other nearby places return more frequently. When they go to Dobo they sign on for only one year.

[887] People who have left the town return for only two reasons: old age and a desire to return in order to die in the village area; or trouble of some sort abroad. If they marry away, they seldom return, and never has one of their children born abroad turned up. For example, the Radja's brother has now been in the United States for twenty-two years. He married there. His wife has written, although he has not. She would like to see Tulehu. The Radja suspects that her husband knows she would be disappointed, as there would not be any good food, clothes, bath, toilet, kitchen, electricity, etc. This was a wise remark. He is a keen fellow.

167 On return to the kampong those who do come 154 back have very little trouble in taking their places again in the life of the village. After perhaps one month of readjustment during which

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●167 154 they appear to be a bit strange, they become kampong men again and start to cut sago, etc.

There are no difficulties in reintegration and little criticism. They usually say that there is much more excitement in the outside world than in Tulehu. They tell folks here about tall buildings, etc.

702 262 576 784 The Radja says that there is some reluctance on the part of the Mohammedans to become soldiers because of their fear that they might have to eat pork. I remember how the Mayor asked one of the guests whether his chauffeur was Mohammedan, and since he was, he told the boy not to offer him any sati, which was made of ham. Evidently it hurts a Mohammedan even to be offered pork.

565 567 551 521 I told the hotel man about the turunan budak, and he said that it would be wise for me not to say much about this as a number of prominent people here could be so classified. There is considerable general knowledge here as to slave descent and there must be quite a bit of gossip. He said that the people talk about the Mayor but avoid the subject in his presence. They must know about the Dutch name and its significance in terms of slave descent. The hotel man said, the Mayor's wife is part Arab. She is very good at business. I think he may be right, as she has such regular features despite her dark skin. And now I am able to see the point of her stressing to me how glad she is that both she and her husband are "one hundred per cent pure Ambonese."

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124 624 Amahusu: I went to the kampong again the following afternoon, as usual. There was my assistant along with hordes of children. There was also one pretty keen young lad and an old fellow who turned out to be the head kewang of Amahusu. There are four kewang in the negri.

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591 dies. Residence is entirely patrilocal.

●167 621 Most of the emigrants who go away go into the army. They are mainly bachelors. Almost always they return, perhaps after twenty years, at which time they are pensioned. In all the Christian kampongs there is great love for the home negri, which is never forgotten. For example, [794] in a drive for a new church (a common occurrence here) contributions were received from all over. In some cases hundreds of rupiah were received. On their return, those who have been away for a long time have no trouble in readjusting. They usually talk about the industries and factories and material development of other places such as Java. At least this is the main impression. Thus it appears that they are practical minded. Since no one is known to have gone out of Indonesia, the people here know relatively little about the United States, etc. The property left [429] behind by those who emigrate is kept by the family, or if necessary by the negri which acts as a trustee. On their return they immediately resume all rights no matter how long they have been away. There is no resistance to anyone's leaving the kampong. It is known that they will return.

167 184 One can see a great difference in these respects when comparing the same aspects of life in the Mohammedan kampongs, where most of the emigrants go on ships to Singapore and abroad. There few of them return and they get to see more of the outside world. Most of the Christians, becoming soldiers, never leave Indonesia and are not tempted therefore to leave permanently. Also, there may be a stronger hold on the inhabitants of Christian kampongs in general. This is a beautiful contrast of situation.

123 115 In general, things are duller here than in

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191 least this holds for most of them. Thus the
871 children in the first grade sit listening to a
182 language which they cannot understand. Nevertheless, they learn. Their parents and siblings who
[868] know Malay help them when they come from school. Thus they get on to know it the hard way. My assistant says that he himself went through this period but that his parents helped him. All children go to afternoon religious schools run by Mohammedan gurus. Here they learn Arabic and read the Koran. This took place even before 1930. But the Mohammedans have lagged behind because in their areas there have been no schools until recently. Even now, says the assistant, in the big kampong of Tulehu there is only one school and it is very poor. Whereas the Christian towns have many schools and big ones. The Radja is said to be working on this problem.

621 As far as the kampong divisions are concerned
●167 I find that there are really four kampongs here: Baru, Tengah, Lama, and the new "suburb" (largely populated by Ceram folk from East Ceram and Gorong) Hurumala. Once returned people from Tulehu do not leave the kampong again.

4½ The private property, for example, a dugout
62 canoe, belonging to a man who has left the community may be sold. If he is generous he may give it to a relative. Other property such as land, a house, etc., is not private, so it is merely kept by the family or dati. In some cases the Radja may act as guardian of the property for the person who has left. On his return he will be assimilated again.

There is no resistance in the kampong to those
167 who want to go away. But today, the government
656 will not give permits for anyone to go even to
505 Makassar, in order to get a job as a sailor. And if they leave without the proper papers, and they

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get caught, they are turned over to the police. And there are no large boats here to sail beyond islands farther away than Ceram, so it is hard for them to sneak away. The people in Asilulu do have large boats and those people are able to sail all over. Thus a few can leave for their favorite occupation, that of being seaman.

Before they left the kampong most of the seamen travelers from this community had ideas of great crowds and many things to see in the outside world. This they obtained from those few people who had returned. Many of the young men are anxious to see the world. For example, my assistant has been talking with the hadji who was in the United States and wants very much to become a seaman and see the United States too. Evidently there is a great deal of attention paid to those who return, and the wandering spirit here is very strong.

Those who return slide back into the old way of life. The assistant says that they often look around and say that they do not know why they ever came back to such a dump after living in big cities. Thus it seems that the hadji would like to leave again, but how?

Those who have returned to the kampong relate the usual tales about the outside world. There is much more to see, much excitement, good clothes, and especially "you act like a real gentleman all the time." You don't go off into the woods and chop sago. You dress well every day.

The villagers evidently admire the chance of their townmates to go away.

The young people are avid to hear news of the outside world. Thus I see that these Mohammedans are really more adventurous than the Christians, who are rather namby-pamby home boys who serve the Dutch in the army and want to come back home later and stay there.

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000 later and stay there. Incidentally this man improves a lot as I talk to him alone. He has lots of spirit.

167 563 621 A fair number of people have come to live in the village during the past fifty years. These fall into four classes: aliens (Chinese, etc.); people from other places in Indonesia; immigrants from other islands in the Ambon area; and immigrants from other towns on Ambon Island. The results seem to be as follows. There are ten Chinese families. Each one represents a Chinese toko. There is one Arab, also representing one toko. These are the only aliens. There are a few Javan families (about six). One Mandar is married to a local girl. There are quite a few people from Ceram, especially from the Mohammedan east coast of Ceram. The only place he remembered was Gorong, which I think is Goram. These people live largely in the new suburb. But, as usual, the people from Buton are the largest group. They come in great numbers and settle in the hills. They are largely drawn by previous relatives or friends who tell them about Tulehu and pave the way for them. Here the Butonese get along quite 563 well, because they are Mohammedans, etc. They 565 enter into the local life quite well. But they 582 are regarded as belonging to a lower class. 595 Still, and this is remarkable, he says it is allowable--and there is little talk--if a Tulehu girl marries a Butonese boy. The reverse is very bad and never occurs. This is a complete reversal of the usual rule that higher woman--lower man marriage is taboo but not vice versa. I asked why. He was non-plused. He said that the men think that the Butonese girls are pretty (like Javan women). I asked if it might be because of the excess of local women. He said this might be, but this could be taken care of by

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167 563 443 609 About two hundred people have come to live in Amahusu in the last fifty years. Following the divisions I made for Tulehu, he said that there were of course no Arabs. In the pre-war period there was one Chinese family, but it was driven out as it was thought that the Chinese took away most of the money. At present there is no toko in the kampong except for two small shops. (see census.) There are, of course, the Butonese.

166 361 245 563 Immigrants come for land. Family and friends already here tell them about the opportunity. Once here they move into the hills except for a few who settle along the road at the north end of the kampong. These people have cocoanut groves. The hill is known as Gunung Nona, rising above the military post, and a magnificent garden spot overlooking the harbor. When I asked Gaspersz what it was, he said that there were Butonese people there and no others. One can see the green of fine planted fields there.

563 609 576 871 The Butonese make good, but do not mix in very much. They come to the negri feasts and like to do this, but they do not attend the private feasts as they do not eat pork. They are not invited, either. They must ask permission to get the land. It is evidently given to them freely, and they are friendly and servile. They always bow on meeting a Christian. Their children must now enter school as it is compulsory. Before, a few years ago, this was not so. Thus there are about twenty Butonese children who come down from the mountain to go to school.

624 651 574 My assistant himself has plenty of friends in the hills as they used to work for him on the roads (he was a mandur). He visits them once in a while. The only other local person who seems to go there is the kewang, who does so to collect tax data and taxes and to regulate land matters.

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563 The Butonese, however, come down frequently,
[438] especially to sell their produce in town. They
[162] make wax for ironing and sell it. There are at least two hundred of them in the kampong now (out of nine hundred!). What a story! And what a thing to do if a study could be made of
[551] these folk! They all have the prefix on their names of La for men and Wa for women. See the census for further material.! There is no mosque in the hills, but they do have a modin. They
[346] use the mosque in the southern part of the city. The Butonese in Eri and Latuhalat have their own mosque, in Eri. My assistant says that there are Butonese in every negri, whether Mohammedan or Christian, in Ambon. This is a real story.

●167 When they come to this area they usually come married. Few of them return once they have arrived and settled here.

Everyone in the kampong has been outside of the kampong. The assistant seems to think that about ninety per cent have left Leitimor at some time for Hitu. I doubt this. In fact, I think he meant about forty per cent or sixty per cent. About twenty per cent, and these mostly the soldiers and those who went to Dobu for pearl work (as in Tulehu), have ever left their island. My assistant has never been off the island. Dur-
[727] ing the war three hundred were taken to Ceram by the Japanese. Most of them died.

Only one person, named Pupella, has left Indonesia from this kampong. [He is a PIM opponent of Pulapessie. The two are now at the Round Table Conference in Holland.]

871 I asked where Pulapessie had come from. He
554 said Saparua. Pulapessie is the kepala daerah here. Manuhutu is the wakil kepala daerah. He too is from Saparua as is Soumokil. I asked how come all the bosses come from Saparua. He said with a kind of sardonic grin that this was true.

! [See v: Kennedy, OB1 Indonesia, cat. 116, p. 322 -- ^ analyst]

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484 to other nearby negri. Those who have gone away from Hitu proper probably total ninety per cent. Regular trips are made to Ambon, for example, in order to shop.

484 Only thirty per cent of the local population
167 have ever left the island of Ambon. Only ten per cent have ever left the cluster of islands into which Ambon is usually grouped (Ambon--Ulias --Ceram). Most of these were men who wanted to work outside. There is only one man now living in the kampong who has ever been outside Indonesia. He is the hadji who went to the United States and other countries. There have been, in the memory of the local folk, about ten men who have come back to the kampong from areas outside of Indonesia. Other people who have left have never returned.

When a departer returns there are many questions asked of him. He may have to talk all night and everyone questions him for a long time.

484 Since the road was put in (since 1920) there
489 has been much more travel. They were indeed isolated before that. Formerly the only means of travel was by prau. The use of the motorboat, (though used by relatively few) dates from about 1935. It goes to Saparua. There is no regular service to Haruku, Amahei (this from Ambon), or elsewhere.

829 Ideas concerned with what goes on in the out-
702 side world are tied up in their ideas about opportunity, money, etc. There are perhaps twenty soldiers from here now serving in the armed forces.

789 There are no special ideas regarding magic in
721 other areas, but questioning in this direction led
825 to an amazing story about head-hunting and pela. Tulehu is the pela partner of a kampong in Haruku. Head-hunting, he says, went on until ten years ago. He says that he had heard of it when he was

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794 church fair was going on and a huge crowd had
541 amassed. The assistant was selling tickets for the evening play (Bible theme) to be put on by the children in the church. I asked why he was doing this aside from the church fund. He said that it was to keep alive the bonds which tie together the negri. Later I saw the stage, with a sheet for a curtain and leaves and flowers for decoration. They were practicing in the rear.
[554] Here as in Latuhalat (and in every kampong, I
[565] guess) the Radja's family has a raised pew to the side of the pulpit. I asked about the little
231 pig I had seen on the way. He said that a few
438 were coming in and that before the war there were a lot and that he had had some. But during the war most of them were eaten. Now the Nila praus are coming in bringing new pigs. These Nila praus come in, up to ten a year, and are big and fine. They also bring fruit. Incidentally, I am now seeing quite a few ducks.

484 Few trips were made outside except to Ambon.
●167 There is not much curiosity about the outside world. And when villagers return there are no special feasts in honor of them. They simply come back.

578 In the old days the traditional enemies of
721 the local folk were the inhabitants of Eri. The
476 assistant had heard about head-hunting and we got onto the idea of magic, but it was really a long time ago here. In this respect these matters are quite different here from what they are in Tulehu. Whereas Eri was an enemy, a mountain negri near Soya (I must get the name) was and is the pela partner of Amahusu.

178 In the last fifty years there have been few
206 changes in communications except for the road.
491 There is no telephone in the kampong now. The
000 line stops at Benteng. Before the war a telephone

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202 624 683 people to do the negri work, etc. They have a small gong which they beat while they go around making such announcements. The police inspector talked a lot and tried to explain that local politics are free unless anyone insults a party, a person, etc. It is evident that the old laws still hold here. And he approves of them. I said that in Holland, the United States, etc., the heart of politics is to freely insult one's opponents. He was nonplused. He talked a lot of nonsense. He heard that in Saparua, posters there are informing the people and telling them to get out from under the Dutch, referring to the latter as "tahi Belanda" /Dutch excrement/. The policeman said that this was not nice and if they went too far they would have to take action as this was against the law that says one may not insult anyone!

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186 668 In the afternoon, in Amahusu, my assistant said that the Amboneses feel themselves as Indonesians, that's all. I get the idea that youth here are very strong for RIS. Tonight I heard a lad at the front of the hotel singing "merdeka, tetap merdeka." /free, always free/.

115 Amahusu: The name of my assistant is Johan Musila.

929 167 521 There is no evidence of an inferiority complex at the kampong level here. The thing which impresses my assistant, (and a man from Naku used the same word) is that returners say that the outside world is more advanced (madju) than Ambon.

There are returners whose stories get better as they are retold again and again. The locals spot this and depreciate such stories. Musila says it is hard to put much over on the local lads because they have been to school!

000 As far as I can see the relation between this

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624 had had the kapitan and malessi posts before.
614 He is doubtful on this.

217 In the house of the kapitan are kept the old
701 conch shells. This is true also of the old war
624 costumes and weapons and helmets, etc.

624 The officers are: radja (of real radja rank),
565 three kepala soa, eleven kepala dati, kapitan, mauëng, malessi, three marinyo (one from each soa), a kepala kewang and assistants varying in number.

623 The saniri is: radja, the three kepala soa, four of the kepala dati, the mauëng, two orang biasa who are elected, and a scribe. Thus there are twelve in all.

115 The name of the assistant is Joseph de Fretes.

I will go to Naku after I return from Ceram.

491 I took De Fretes as far as Kayuputih, up a
727 terrific road full of stones and very steep.
466 The jeep did it, although it was a struggle.. From the top there was a magnificent view. There is plenty of settlement here. The assistant in Amahusu said that the Japanese hewed this road out as there were plenty of them in Soya. They forced the Indonesians to work under the death penalty. The people in the kampongs far off in
[482] the hills walk up and down easily carrying loads to and from Ambon.

● 167 I had a talk with Rehatta about Soya. He,
115 incidentally, went to Rabaul with a German captain in 1912, and in those days lots of Ambonese were taken by the Germans to work as clerks, etc. In fact, he says most of such employees in Rabaul were from Ambon. He went to school there, and then went all over New Guinea with Thurnwald. Then he worked for German companies and finally returned to Ambon in 1923. He is the son of the Radja of Soya.

000 Soya is a mountain kampong five kilometers

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769 the book, they said to call it the Land of the Moyang [ancestors].

584 I heard incidentally that usually a boy em-
152 ploys a friend as an intermediary to propose for him, because he is ashamed to do so himself. The intermediary approaches a girl friend of the girl who then asks the girl. Thus it is found out whether it is all right or not. If the answer is no, there are no face-to-face hurt feelings.

563 My informants cannot think of a single mar-
167 riage in the area to someone outside of Ambon Island. Of course, soldiers have brought home Javan wives. Evidently these Javan girls are Christian. Or could they be Ambonese girls brought up in Java? I will ask.

574 The people in Amahusu have many relatives in
463 other negri on Ambon Island. They visit, go on
729 feasts together, etc. They say they have no
167 blood relatives on any other islands in the group.
701 I wonder if this is so. Likewise they say that there are no blood relatives in more distant lands, except for the soldiers who are elsewhere in Indonesia working for pensions so they can
[212] come home and take it easy. There is much letter writing back and forth because of these soldiers. The woman from Tiouw, Saparua, who returned after having spent practically her whole life in Java and Europe, was shocked at the shortage of men here. They are all away as
[311] soldiers. The old men are unable to use the available garden land because there is too much.
[461] Thus the Ambonese, except for the Mohammedans, seek to escape livelihood work and try for an easy life of soldiering and drawing pensions.

874 The normal school for teachers is located in Saparua.

563 There are no recorded marriages with Chinese,
581 Dutch, or others. The only exception again is

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173 361 got a large enough population to be able to defend themselves against the pirates. This may be a good answer.

533 538 The people here love to sing and make up songs. They sing if they are sad or happy, and they sing to babies. They are also good at making up pantun. They have contests between the boys and girls. When Soumokil visited here they had a great pantun contest on the Radja's porch, and Soumokil entered into it too. They also have some krontjong.

533 535 868 The traditional negri songs are learned by every child. I hear singing all the time in the houses here and it is very good. I would like to make some recordings. The tjakalele is taught by the kepala soa Tuasalamoni. People learn songs and how to play instruments merely by looking on and asking for instruction from friends.

829 167 181 602 There is a great desire on the part of the young men here to see the world. Gani says that one hundred per cent would go away if they could. They are an adventurous lot evidently, and lots have left for New York, etc. Others hear of this and want to go too. I get the impression that the adventuresome spirit is much stronger here than in Amahusu. The spirit in Amahusu seems to affect soldiers only. Maybe this is because Mohammedan men are freer and less tied down to their families. Surely they are less tied to women. But then too it is duller here than in Amahusu, as the latter is relatively near (a short walk from) Ambon, and this is a "big city." Here there are only the hills and the sea.

[721] 266 173 Everywhere in Hitu people remember the headhunting days and there are many stories about it. The memory is strong. Cannibalism is clearly not important, but I did hear something about how the radja's family used to eat a man alive on

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000 about this too.

582 614 The scatter is amazing. The greatest frequency is 8 Silooy--other. There are 5 Matitaputi --other, 5 Mainake--other, 4 Pupella--other, 4 Silooy--Mainake, and thence to others. There is no pattern at all. There are 10 other--other. There are also 4 Da Costa--other and 4 Ferdinandus--other.

167 Living outside Amahusu there are 93 names, which means that about 250 persons with families live outside. All of them, however, are within Indonesia, none elsewhere. The 93 include 69 married men and 24 bachelors. There are 62 in Java, 5 in the Moluccas, 20 in New Guinea, 1 in Sumatra, 2 in Borneo, 8 in Celebes, and none in the Lesser Sundas.

463 167 There are 8 clerks(7 in New Guinea, 1 in Celebes), 1 policeman (in New Guinea), 2 telegraph men (1 in New Guinea, 1 in Celebes), 2 gurus (1 in Java, 1 in Celebes), 7 preachers (6 in Java, 1 in Celebes; including 5 Pentecostals). There are 78 soldiers.

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NAKU

	Total	Male	Female	Sex Ratio	Houses	Inhabitants per House
Negri	591	292	299	97.7	115	5.1
Butonese	28	15	13	115.4	5	5.6
Total	619	307	312	98.4	120	5.2

	Children under 15	Children under 15 to Adults	Children under 15 per House
Negri	252	0.7	2.2
Butonese	11	0.7	2.2
Total	263	0.9	2.2